

THE NATIONAL ERA IS PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SEVENTH STREET, OPPOSITE OLD FELLOWS' HALL.

TERMS.
Two dollars per annum, payable in advance.
Advertisements not exceeding ten lines, inserted three times at one dollar; every subsequent insertion, twenty-five cents.

All communications to the ERA, whether on business or for the paper or for publication, should be addressed to G. BAILEY, Washington, D. C.

BULL & BLANCHARD, PRINTERS,
Sixth street, a few doors south of Pennsylvania avenue.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

THE DIFFERENCE, AND WHAT MADE IT.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "CLOVERNOOK."

[CONTINUED.]

When it was baked, the good old lady held it up in triumph. A white linen towel, she had spun and woven, prevented the dish from burning her hands; while she advised Maudie to take a lesson of her old mother—began right, and not humor John to all his whims, but to always use her own wit when she knew she was in the right—urging that in this particular instance she had, as the fruits of her prudence, the beautifullest pie she ever saw; whilst if she had minded "Robinson," she would have had a batch that nobody could eat, and that would have aggravated her whenever she thought of it.

"Well, mother," said the Judge, as she brushed the ashes from the corner with the wing of a turkey, "your judgment is generally pretty correct; and while your pie baked, I cooked up a little plan which I want seasoned with your opinion."

It happened, as is often the case with well-to-do farmers, that Judge Robinson had, on an obscure nook of his handsome estate, an old house. He had formerly dwelt in it himself; but since his more affluent days, and the building of a newer and more commodious one, it had been let to a tenant, together with a portion of the lands.

It was an old-fashioned, irregular sort of building, with mossy roof, steep gables, white-washed walls, &c. Nevertheless, it was still a goodish sort of tenement, neighbored by orchards, barn, crib, smoke-house, and the like conveniences.

The plan which the Judge had cooked up was a proposal to renovate the old house a little, for the occupancy of John and Matilda. As much ground as he could cultivate was placed at the young man's disposal; a garden, in which currant bushes, strawberries, horse-radish, and asparagus, were beginning to sprout; as also a cow, two horses, and the necessary agricultural implements.

This kind of help—the means of helping themselves—was not precisely the kind they had hoped for. But "beggars must not be choosers," said Mrs. Robinson, disposed, woman-like, to make the best of the best; and, in truth, as she thought more about the plan, she began to like it. It would be so delightful to have the garden, and to learn the art of butter-making, and all the other mysteries of country life. Then, too, the lady would have a nice green yard to play in—the idea was charming.

Mr. Robinson told his friends that he should remove to his country property for the summer; that the health of his family required it; and that he proposed to take a house in town another winter; a hotel was a miserable subterfuge for a home, and he continued to describe it in the use of adjectives which I shall not repeat.

These preliminaries arranged, Mr. and Mrs. John Robinson removed to their country seat. In other words, they took themselves, with their baby, a very excellent trunk which was Mrs. Robinson's, and a very poor, old one which was Mr. Robinson's, to the old tenant house of Mr. Robinson; because, in brief, they could not do otherwise.

And to this place, as before related, I one evening, toward the close of the following May, crossed the meadows to make my first call. John Robinson had been my schoolmate; I had known him in all the devious paths "that led him up to man," and looked with some leniency, perhaps, upon his faults and follies than I should have shown had he been a stranger. Besides, he had, I thought, more about the plan, she began to like it. It would be so delightful to have the garden, and to learn the art of butter-making, and all the other mysteries of country life. Then, too, the lady would have a nice green yard to play in—the idea was charming.

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other ecstasies, I was quite willing to endorse commendation of the housekeeper; and, as I took leave of my new acquaintance, I could not avoid expressing something of the pleasure I had felt, as well as the hope that we should meet much and often.

Often of summer evenings, as I sat in the moonlight, I heard the music of the guitar across the hill; and sometimes, when it was very still, I could hear the young wife singing to her baby.

We had soon a little path worn across the meadow, and many were the exchanges of ginger cakes and pies thereby facilitated. Sometimes I caught the flutter of the white blanket on the edge of the hill, and ran to meet and relieve my friend of her precious burden. True, there was no very deep or close sympathy between us; but, however different the circle of our lives and thoughts, there are points that will touch. She could teach me to outdo, and to make various little fancy articles, both pique herb, or the other, and I was of assistance to her. And though she never heard of the Mask of Comus, or read the Fairy Queen, why, there were other things to talk about.

So the summer went by, and the fall; and when the first were kindled on the hearth, the long skirts of the baby were tucked up, and she was toddling from chair to chair, and delighting father and mother by liping the name of each. Mrs. Robinson was well pleased with her new life, and often expressed surprise that the idle notions of her former life could have satisfied. The autumn tasks, of putting up and down sweetmeats and pickles, were gotten over without difficulty or complaint, and even over the winter, which she had always heard was so horrid and lonely in the country, was to the young wife and mother just as pleasant as any other season. There were knitting and patchwork, sewing and mending, always, to make the days short; then the meat was to be minced for pies, the herbs and roots to be dried, and that, far from having time hang heavy upon her hands, she had scarce sufficient for all the duties of the day.

During the blustering winter months we saw less of each other than previously; nevertheless, we had many a pleasant chat and rural gossip, and the woodman of the district, to be less resolute, these winter months, and the winter, which she had always heard was so horrid and lonely in the country, was to the young wife and mother just as pleasant as any other season. There were knitting and patchwork, sewing and mending, always, to make the days short; then the meat was to be minced for pies, the herbs and roots to be dried, and that, far from having time hang heavy upon her hands, she had scarce sufficient for all the duties of the day.

The following spring, Mr. Moore, who had never forgiven his daughter, died suddenly, and without any will, and Mrs. Robinson became heir to some eight or ten thousand dollars. The humble home in the country, in which they had taken so much interest, and where they had really made their home, was now to be sold, and the proceeds were to be divided into nothingness. Carriage wheels, and curtains down, and, together with beds, chairs, and tables, disposed of in summary order. The old things were of no use now.

The necessary preparations were soon effected, and early one April morning the first effect, and the doors locked, and the old house left alone.

A handsome house was rented in town, stylish furniture bought, and a half a dozen servants employed; for, with the renewal of old associations and with the ampler means, more than the old indolence and extravagance were indulged.

For ten years, owing partly to chance, and partly to the fact that she was a widow, Mrs. Robinson, at the close of that term, I chanced to be in their neighborhood; and, with some mingling of curiosity among kindly remembrances, sought them out.

The exterior of their dwelling presented an humble, old, dingy and comfortable appearance. Perhaps, though, I should not be spoken of as a stranger, for I had been there, and I was, as the door was opened by a stout, black girl, the faded remembrances of better times that met my eyes spoke for themselves.

I was scarcely seated, when a little girl of some four years presented herself, with dress and face indicating a scarcity of water; and, eying me with more sagacity than curiosity, asked me bluntly how long I meant to stay at their house. I confess to the weakness of being disconcerted by such questions from children; and before I had time fully to recover, a boy, who might have been a year and a half younger, and whose white trousers, red jacket, and milk-white face, attracted me in a manner similar to the face and garments of his sister, entered the room, and taking the remnant of a cigar from his mouth, threw his cap against me with as much force as he was master of, by way of salutation, and then, getting one foot upon the head of a broken chair that graced a "winded niche," he challenged my admiration of his boots. The little girl, who, probably wishing me to know that she was without accomplishments, opened the piano, and began drumming on the keys; but the noise drowned the boy's voice, a lively quarrel ensued, and blows were exchanged with wonderful rapidity.

"Aunt you asked?" said the girl, relenting first, and looking at me.

"No," replied the boy. "I don't care for her. Ma said she didn't want to see her; and pa was gone with all the money, and there was nothing for supper but half a mackerel and two ginger cakes. And," he added, "I am going to eat both of them."

Mrs. Robinson, as she descended, caught the whole or a part of this little story of information; and, calling the black girl out of the kitchen, ordered her to bring "them two little plagues out of the parlor by main force." Dimah blustered, in feeling all the dignity of her commission, and dragged them out, as directed, in spite of the triple remonstrance of feet, face, and voice.

As Mrs. Robinson drew them up stairs by a series of quick jerks, she told them, in a voice neither low nor soft, that she had a sharp knife in her pocket, and that if she ever heard them talk so again, she would cut off their ears; that for the present, she should shut them up in her room, and if they quarreled, or made a bit of noise, a big stick was in the chimney would come down and eat them up. But the last and awfullest terror that she brought to bear upon them, was, that she would tell their father.

She presently entered the parlor, with an infant in her arms; and if I had not been in some measure prepared for a metamorphosis, I must have betrayed my surprise at her altered appearance. There was no vestige of beauty remaining; even the expression of her countenance was changed, and she looked the picture of sullen, hard, and dissatisfied endurance. Her pale hair had become thin, and was neither arranged with taste or care; the eyes had sunk, and the nose, always prominent, looked higher and sharper; and the teeth, once really beautiful, were blackened and gone. The dress she wore had been once pretty and expensive silk, and was still set off with flounces, buttons, and ribbons, which brought out the faded hue, green-spots, and tatters, in bolder relief. Ah, how the faded hues of the old woman's face and dress, and the loving and trusting heart she had, when I first saw her in the old house, were both gone.

They had made many moves and removals during three years; and Mrs. Robinson took occasion to tell me of the many fine things she had had, of the places she had visited, &c., so that I could easily fill up the history.

she continued, "he used to have Helen in his arms half the time when she was a baby; but now he never touches one of the children, unless it is to beat them. But he is never home now-a-days."

"He must have changed," I said, "for when you lived in the country he was always at home."

"Oh, yes; but we were just married then!" replied the wife.

How much that sentence revealed; and I have thought often since, that if men and women would continue to practice the forbearance, the kindness, the politeness, and the little acts that first won love, the sunshine of happiness need never be dimmed.

In this case, however, the neglect of these things was not the only misfortune. There are people to whom money is an evil—people who will only learn industry, and moderation, and the greatest and best humanities of life, in the school of necessity. And they who sit down and sigh for wealth, who have youth and health, and God's fair world before them, though never so penniless, are unworthy of wealth; and to such, adversity is a good thing.

SCENE AT SEA.

BY MARY IRVING.

He had been sinking all the day—
And when the sun was waning,
Death froze to stillness on his lip
The moan of low complaining.

He was a stranger, on whose cheek
The rose of death was glowing,
When first he sought the spicy air
Where balmy winds are wooing.

The worn and weary wanderer
From fatal frosts was flying,
To rest, and dream the dream of hope,
Even in the hour of dying!

He woke to hear the knell of dreams!
The sky was fair above him;
But oh! in all that stranger world
There was not one to love him!

A call, from his forsaken home,
Came on the west wind's sighing;
His faint heart leaped to greet it, though
He knew that he was dying!

Oh! but to lean his head once more
Upon his mother's bosom!
And sleep his long sleep beneath
Ohio's clover blossom!

'Twas thus we took the sufferer on
Our cheerless ocean dwelling;
He was a stranger—not but long—
To hearts of human feeling!

He turned his eye from sea to sky,
In faint and fervent motion;
"Oh! only take me home to die!
I cannot rest in ocean!"

"I must not lie where waves dash high,
And dark, and cold, above me,
And never a tear drops on my grave,
From any eyes that love me!"

But when the second sun went down,
His lip was done with fever;
His weary heart had heaved his last—
Had found his home—forever!

'Twas kind to keep his latest wish,
When grumbling sailors murmured low,
"Aye! 'toss him to the fishes!"

They pointed to the coal-black cloud
Slow gathering o'er the heaven—
"Too much on board to hide a blow!
Good angels, guard this even!"

Our captain spurned the subtle chain
Of senseless superstition;
There was more kindness in the man
Than struck a stranger's vision!

"To bid a whim—yet he shall lie
Beside his buried father!
A favor to a dying man
Brings no one fouler weather!"

The sun went down; the storm came up;
Red flashed the lightning brighting;
The foam-flecked billows, underneath
The north-wind's breath, were brightening.

We dropped from wave to yawning wave,
Our struggling bark immoving;
In the brief hush of the blast,
Went up the boatman's cursing!

The whirlwind swept, with angry wings,
The blessed stars from heaven!
Oh! seldom such another night
To mariners is given!

All night we clung, with drowning clasp,
To swaying, sleepless pillows,
And morning brought no ill of peace
To pour upon the billows!

It was the waves—the seamen said—
To claim their booty banding;
With hoarse, deep, myriad-murmured call,
The dead man's corpse demanding!

One slept; and in that troubled sleep,
Half way from dream to waking,
He heard the voice of wave to wave,
In thunder utterance speaking.

"We ask our own," the wild words rang—
"We break delay no longer;
We to the will that tempests bring
The angry Ocean's hunger!"

"Down in the deepest cave that yawns
Beneath the treble billow,
We'll lay, with tempest lullaby,
Our victim to the pillow!"

"Give up! give up!" the whirlwind cried,
In hoarser fury shaking
The masts that in its giant grasp
Were shivering and shrieking!

Was it the light of one fair star,
That looked through cloud and storm?
Beside the dreamless sleeper's bed,
Uprose an angel form!

It turned to Ocean's maddened waves,
And spoke in trumpet-toned,
Above their tempest-rustle, "Peace!
The deed is not your own!"

"A sister's sob—a mother's prayer—
Upon his household altar—
The latest sign that shook his breast—
Have won him back for Earth!"

shall we say of such as these? They will be caught in an evil net. They will fall into a hidden trap, and can they say, "We didn't think?" Yes, perhaps they can. But if they tell the whole truth, they will find, because we wouldn't think. They have eyes, but they see not; ears have they, but they hear not. Give a mouse their wit, and see if he will be caught in such a trap.

RANK AND NOBILITY.

A STORY—BY JEANNE MARIE.

Translated for the Era, by Dr. Edwin A. Arkes.

Baler felt himself keenly wounded. A letter had spoken the name that for several days was the source to him of the most gnawing and painful feelings. But there were so many of the name that he could not tell this to be another person? He must have the certainty, and turning to the painter, asked his address; as he also had a view to claim his time. He politely handed Baler his card. And after the Minister's lady had given her consent to another sitting of Seraphine, which was fixed upon, painted the room, not suspecting with what motive the Countess should be a single glance on the card had convinced that the painter was no other than his brother Edmund.

"Why in such deep thought, my friend?" asked Globen, coming up to the Count. "Art thou thinking about the house No. 3?" added he, laughing. Though the Countess Baler, who tried to join in with the laugh, Globen observed his constraint, and said, in good humor, "Thou may'st be at ease, I will betray nothing; but thou must soon show me the pretty girl who has occasioned thy reverie."

Erkka's carriage was now at the door, and Globen waited on her. Baler bowed without following. When she was gone, he turned to Seraphine, who seemed unusually beautiful in her new ball costume, and politely said, "Dare I hope to see you this evening at Count S—'s?"

"Is my aunt's wish,"
"In case you come, I shall be the first to ask you as a witness," said Seraphine, who smiled smiling. In the mean time, Globen re-entered.

"The Countess Erskine is a splendid woman," cried he, humming a tune, "but she is too much of a prude for me."

"She is very haughty," said Baler.
"And cold," added Seraphine, but hush! don't let Count hear us."

HYPOCHLIT AND LUCIE.

We left Prince Hypochlit much excited at the ball. He had wildly broken away from his friend, mounted his horse, and departed in the night, not caring if they should miss him in the saloon, or if his father, in painful anxiety, should inquire about him; or whether a universal clamor and bustle should be occasioned by his disappearance. He thirsted for enlargement and refreshment, for a cooling off; and while the air of a cold winter night blew upon his forehead, and snow fleeces hung upon his black hair, he felt happier and better.

Drawing up the bridle of his Arab, he galloped out of the gate, and breaking through the village and further, till after a long ride, he reached a village. The dogs struck up as the stranger rode into the premises—otherwise all was silent; all seemed to be hushed in deep sleep, and the quiet and placidity of things around had a singular charm for Hypochlit, who resented the ride further, but to stay there over night, and breakfast with the villagers. Soon as he projected this plan, he dismounted, threw his cloak over the beautiful animal, fastened his bridle to a tree, and stretched himself on a bench before the house at which he had accidentally stopped. It was a pretty good-looking building, rather prominent amid the neighboring huts, and breaking with the village of some magistrate or clergyman, thought Hypochlit, for a church steeple was also seen discovered, the outlines of which were darkly visible on the clear horizon. The iron constraint of the Prince seemed not to have suffered from the keenness of the night air or hardness of his coat, and he lay down on his arm, and gazed at the constellations, while his thoughts chased sleep from his eyes, and with surprise he heard the village clock strike four.

Morning already! thought he, and now perhaps the company in the illuminated saloon of my father are breaking up. Thank God, that I have escaped this constraint.

The images of former happiness Hypochlit left there vanished from his recollection. None was prominent and outshone the rest, none with lively colors engaged his fancy. On the contrary, there floated over his chaos of silks and colors a light form, that threw all the rest into shade. "Lucie!" cried he aloud in the darkness, and observed that at the echo of his voice, but it drew him powerfully to his loved, and that he was disappointed of the bliss of seeing her again, while he pictured to himself the separation as endless, inflamed him more. "Lucie!" cried he again, aloud, "thou wilt yet be mine."

Surprised, he looked around, for he heard a door opening, and observed a figure coming forth. It was a man, who, with heavy gait and lantern in hand, went to a stable near, took out a horse, and began to harness him into a farm wagon. "Probably the tenant, about to drive to town with milk and butter," said Hypochlit, musing.

"What is he?" muttered the man, on perceiving the strange horse.

"Good morning, friend," said the young Prince, advancing to him. "Pardon me for bringing my horse here, but the animal would not go any further, and I concluded to spend the night in the village."

"Bless me!" cried the farmer, gazing on the stranger, who, with heavy gait and lantern in hand, went to a stable near, took out a horse, and began to harness him into a farm wagon. "Probably the tenant, about to drive to town with milk and butter," said Hypochlit, musing.

"And you slept here before the house, kind sir?"

"Why not, old man? This new couch pleased me very much. I am now tired, and whose hospitality has been intruded on by me, and who lives in this house?"

"It is the clergyman's house. If he knew it, who cannot shut out a living creature for the night, from pity and goodness of heart!"

"Would the clergyman allow me to break fast with him?"

"Why not, kind sir? The young miss has charge of the breakfast, but she is a real angel."

"Then the clergyman is married?"

"Yes, truly, married. He has a good partner; and besides, a week or two ago, a visitor came to the house."

"Yes, indeed; and you showed us the young miss. She is called throughout the village the beautiful Lucie?"

"Lucie?" cried Hypochlit, and his breath failed him with the question. "Lucie Muller, probably?"

"Just so; people call her so. You know her, perhaps; for she is from town, as much as I know."

Soon as the twilight yielded to clearer day, he took out his portfolio, tore out a leaf, and with lead pencil wrote in English the following words:

"I have spent the night under thy window, Lucie. Will thou see me again? One word, and I lie at thy feet."

If it were really his Lucie, of which he did not doubt, she must understand him. Were she not, which seemed wonderful to him, the words would remain undeciphered. Lucie and he had together learnt the English language, and were so happy as to occupy the same stadium. This remembrance alone must plead for him.

With intense interest, Hypochlit listened to every sound that came from the parsonage house; and when at length the door opened, and a country girl came out, he delayed not the inquiry—

"Is Lucie Muller awake?"

"Yes," was the answer. "The miss is just making coffee."

"Tell my child, there is a messenger here from town, who brings a letter for her, and waits an answer. Go quickly, child, and bring me the answer."

Together with the letter lay a costly ring in the girl's hand. Hypochlit did not reflect that his present might betray him, and that a messenger would not have made so rich a present for taking a letter to the place direct. But the girl was more cunning than he—

for she suspected that something particular lay hid in the message—put her ring in her stomach, and promised to bring an answer right soon.

After a quarter of an hour, that seemed endless to Hypochlit, the maid came back with a leaf in her hand, which he impudently snatched. There was now no doubt in what situation the pretty letter-carrier stood to Miss Muller, who, on reading the billet, became first, then, pale, and lastly burst into tears.

"Likewise in English," said the girl, who was the guide of Heaven that conducted to the possession there. Like Jacob, in a dream she might be said to have seen angels coming and going on her ladder. Words, glances, sighs, ribbons, flowers, looks, conjectures, sufficed to spin out the whole history, and we were all delighted. There is a life of fancy that is more than a more trivial, yet more spiritual nourishment than the sensualist laughs at, and whose language none but the initiated understand. Oft is such fancy-love touched with rude hand, when it shrinks with inconceivable pain, and when it falls, it withers, or falls to ashes, out of which no phoenix can be reborn. It is, it falls, and remembrance preserves its image, so that it is long in perishing, and we cease to desire it, as it cannot be sheltered from the sun's rays and showers of rain, that must needs destroy its colors.

The virgin's family were not unobscured by the singular change in Lucie's character, but they attributed it to the loss of her prospect of soon returning to her mother.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

LETTER FROM THE SANFORD ISLANDS.

MAKAWAO MANI, March 2, 1852.

To the Editor of the National Era.

Our Hawaiian election to choose representatives to the lower house took place the first Monday in January. This you will understand was the second regular election the people have held since the establishment of the constitution. I need not, therefore, repeat to you the details of the election, but I will say that the result was a triumph for the party of the people.

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named, either for the first or second office, knowing, as I do, their intelligence, integrity, and devotion to this whole country. Will not next winter be early enough to fix on the time for holding the Convention?

The place is of minor importance. I do not think the people of this State have, as yet, turned their attention to this matter. For the kindly terms in which you are pleased to speak of me personally, accept my thanks. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you in Washington. Faithfully, your obedient servant,

C. H. DONALDSON, Esq.
The original is now in the possession of an active Democrat in our city.
New York Tribune.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JUNE 17, 1852.

THE NATIONAL ERA FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

The Democratic Convention has made its nomination. This week the Whig Convention will announce its ticket. Early in August, it is stated, the National Free Soil Convention will meet.

The *National Era* will keep its readers advised of the movements of Parties, their Principles, Purposes, and Prospects; and their Position, especially as relates to the Question of Slavery.

Persons subscribing for six months from the 1st of July, will receive the paper till the 1st of January, thus securing a full view of the entire Campaign, its results, and its bearings upon the preliminary movements in the next session of Congress.

Twelve copies of the paper will be sent for the six months, for \$9—the person making up the club entitling himself to an extra copy; or, for the five months from July 1st to December 1st, covering the campaign and its results, twelve copies will be sent for \$7.50—the person making up the club being entitled to an extra copy.

The record of Mr. Pierce, which we publish this week, will be republished in the early part of next month, for the benefit of those subscribers who may commence on the first of July. It shall be our aim to furnish impartially the important facts in relation to all the contending Parties.

Will not our friends who regard the *Era* as qualified to spread correct political information and disseminate sound political sentiments, do what they can, by the formation of clubs and otherwise, to secure it still larger access to the public mind? We must rely upon their well-directed efforts. An uncompromising opponent of the Pro-Slavery policy of the old political organizations, it still expects to obtain a fair-hearing from the liberal men who continue to support them, though under protest.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Bills are on their way to subscribers whose terms expire at the close of the first half of the present volume. Keep watch for them. Let no one suffer a hiatus in his subscription. We take it for granted that few will be willing to lose the paper, on the eve of a Presidential struggle—to say nothing of the new interest that will be given to it by the Letters of Grace Greenwood from Europe, and the contributions of Mrs. Stowe.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.

Copies of this work are for sale at the office of the *National Era*, on 7th street. Price—in paper covers, \$1; cloth, \$1.50; cloth, full gilt, \$2. Persons at a distance of not over 500 miles can have this work in paper covers mailed to them, free of postage, on addressing L. Clephane, at this office, and enclosing \$1 in money and 27 cents in post office stamps—over 500 miles the postage will be 54 cents.

NORTHERN MARTYRDOM.

Some time ago we directed attention to the ingratitude with which Mr. Webster was treated by the Slaveholding Interest. He had done and sacrificed more to secure it against disturbance than any other Northern man. He had thrown himself into the "imminent deadly breach," and there he stood, the tide of Public Opinion, which, rushing onwards, gathering volume and strength as it surged, threatened to overwhelm its supporters. In the dark hour they looked to him for safety—they were full of admiration for his heroic patriotism—his great services could never be forgotten. But the hour passed away, and with it the man. The man who had helped them out of danger, had done so at the cost of his availability, and to other quarters they looked for aid in future struggles. Gratitude is very available in its place; but among politicians, it is a sentiment, not a principle of action. Mr. Webster, in giving strength to the South, had lost strength in the North; and in losing strength in the North, had lost availability to the South.

The case of Mr. Webster is not an exception: it illustrates a general rule. What was the history of Mr. Van Buren? Once an Anti-Slavery politician, an opponent of the Missouri Compromise, an advocate of justice to the colored man, in an evil hour, forgetting all his antecedents, he became an ally of the Slaveholding Interest, pledged himself to its extreme demands, and used all his power for their enforcement. The supporters of that Interest had not yet learned by experience the loss of influence entailed upon a Northern man by conspicuous services in its behalf, and nominated him for a second term; but his overwhelming defeat opened their eyes, and in 1844, grateful, of course, for his devotion, but not inclined to sacrifice themselves with him, his claims were disregarded, and a more available leader was chosen.

In 1848, their choice was General Cass, not for what he had suffered, but for what he had done, and, in their judgment, was qualified to do. It was believed that the effect upon Northern mind of his opposition to the Wilmot Proviso would be counteracted by his doctrine—the right of the people of a Territory to determine their own institutions—and by the use of his friends, assuming that the Mexican law prohibiting slavery was in force, could make of that doctrine. The result showed that this was a mistake, and that the General, in his attempts to conciliate the Slaveholding Interest, had reduced his Northern strength. Had he been purely selfish in his policy, and clear-sighted, he would at once have sought to strengthen himself in his own section; but, pursuing an opposite course, he manifested increased devotion to the Slaveholding Interest, and labored to secure compliance with its most rigorous demands. And no less zealous was Mr. Buchanan, an old ally of that Interest, and an aspirant, like General Cass, to Presidential honors, on the strength of services rendered and to be rendered in its behalf. Its supporters were delighted with their labors, enlarged upon their sacrifices, remembered them always in their speeches and resolutions; but both had gone too far. They had committed the fatal blunder—forgot the availability of the North by excess of loyalty to the South—and the South cannot afford to sacrifice its interest to a sentiment. In the late Convention at Baltimore, had the Southern delegates at any moment united upon Buchanan or Cass?

either would have secured the nomination. But they would not do it. They foresaw defeat under such leadership. They knew that these men had sacrificed too much for them to be available. This is the secret of the nomination of Franklin Pierce. They knew he was as loyal as they were, that he would labor to fulfill all their demands, but he had been out of public life for many years, had not been mixed up in any recent controversies, had not rendered himself particularly obnoxious by conspicuous efforts in the late sectional conflicts, and was therefore available. He had not done them so much service as Cass or Buchanan, but he was qualified to be more serviceable in future. And so, gratitude was sacrificed to self-interest. The disabled heroes of the battle lately fought, were abandoned; they chose a new champion, who, whatever his services, will be in like manner deserted as worthless, the moment his zeal in behalf of Slavery has disabled him at the North.

Northern Martyrdom in behalf of Slavery is one of the most instructive chapters in the history of American Politics.

MR. PIERCE AND THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT.

Mr. Pierce voted, when in Congress, to respect the right of petition as exercised by the Abolitionists. In 1837, when, after having served his term in the House of Representatives, he had taken his seat as a member of the United States Senate, he voted to receive, in the usual manner, a petition asking for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and sustained his vote by his voice. He took the same ground with Mr. Adams, as to the propriety of this abolition of slavery in the District, but declared that "he would give no vote which might be construed into a denial of the right of petition." That was a time when the influence of slavery was in the ascendant, when it was the fashion to toss back such petitions with contempt in the faces of those who presented them, and it required some courage in a politician of the Democratic school to confront and defy the imperious demand of the South, that all memorials and applications of this nature should be rigidly excluded from the notice of Congress. The right to ask for the extinction of slavery in the District of Columbia is now admitted; but Franklin Pierce, who voted in favor of the petition, the Committee, was one of the earliest to assert it.

Mr. Pierce will be as much surprised as Mr. Orr of South Carolina to learn that he has ever stood opposed to any of the imperious demands of the South. Our friends of the *Evening Post* have derived their information from a very partial record, as we shall now show.

Mr. Pierce entered Congress in 1833. Monday, February 24, 1835, the House of Representatives proceeded to the consideration of several petitions and memorials from sundry citizens of the State of New York, one of which was signed by eight hundred ladies, praying the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, presented by Mr. Dickinson. The war on the right of petition was at this time about commencing, but Mr. Dickinson was allowed to speak in behalf of the passage of the petition; and, at the close of his remarks, he moved to refer the papers to a select committee.

Mr. Chinn did not mean "to disturb the deep sympathy or the tender mercies of the gentleman from New York;" "he only moved to lay the whole subject on the table," and upon that question he demanded the yeas and nays. The friends of the right of petition took the ground that petitions should not only be received, but considered and referred. Their opponents, while recognizing it in form by receiving petitions, denied it in fact, by insisting that they should be laid upon the table at once, and without debate.

The question was taken upon Mr. Chinn's motion, and decided in the affirmative—yeas 117, nays 77. The South, aided by such men as Wise, Pickens, Peyton, Bynum, Pinckney, and Gilmer, with its Northern allies, voted yeas; John Quincy Adams and his friends, nays. Among the affirmative votes is that of FRANKLIN PIERCE.

Wednesday, December 16, 1835, Mr. Fairfield presented a petition from 172 women, for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in this District, and moved it be laid upon the table. Mr. Slade moved that it be printed. The question was taken on the first motion, and decided in the affirmative—yeas 180, nays 31—the South, with its Northern allies, including FRANKLIN PIERCE, voting yeas, John Q. Adams and his friends, nays.

Mr. Vanderpoel moved to lay the motion to print on the table; and this motion prevailed—yeas 169, nays 49—FRANKLIN PIERCE again voting in the affirmative with the Slaveholders.

Friday, December 18, 1835, a protracted debate sprung up in the House, on the presentation of a petition by Mr. Jackson of Massachusetts, praying the abolition of slavery in the District.

The work of petitioning on the subject of slavery had now fairly commenced. Up to this time, the usual mode of getting rid of the petitions had been by laying them upon the table without debate. This prevented their consideration, and excluded all agitation. But a few Southern men of extreme views, incensed by what they regarded assaults upon the peculiar institution, or determined to open the door for sectional controversy, for the sake of embarrassing the Administration or promoting discussion, determined upon a more violent course of procedure. The presentation of the petition by Mr. Jackson was used as an occasion. Mr. Hammond of South Carolina moved that it be rejected; Mr. Garland of Virginia, that he be laid upon the table. A rambling conversation followed, upon points of order. At last, for the purpose of getting at the question of rejection, Mr. Hammond and his friends agreed to have the petition considered, and Mr. Garland withdrew his motion to lay upon the table. It was immediately renewed by Mr. Beardsley of New York. The House became again perplexed with points of order, until Mr. Thomas of Maryland, to relieve the members who had voted for consideration from their difficulties, moved to reconsider the motion by which the House had agreed to consider the petition. A most exciting debate followed. Some of the Southern members avowed that they desired agitation, for the purpose of being able to vindicate their institutions; some deprecated agitation; all denounced it; and they were sustained by the Northern allies of the Slave Power, who abused the anti-slavery men, and were willing to go all lengths for the suppression of agitation, so that they might be spared the dangerous task of an undisguised denial of the right of petition. For himself, Mr. Beardsley said, he was ready to give a direct vote upon the petition, a vote that should mark the opinion of the House upon the character of such petitions, by saying affirmatively that they would not consider it. "If that would meet the views of honorable gentlemen, he was willing to modify his motion to lay on the table, and to move that the House would not consider the petition, or would reject its prayer; although laying it on the table, he thought, was equivalent to either of the modifications indicated."

Mr. Mason of Virginia hoped that the gentleman from New York would so modify his motion that they could have a direct vote on rejecting the petition. "If the House is prepared to decide upon the principle of the petition, why not reject it at once? To refer the petition is an act of supererogation, which can do no good, and will do much mischief." He hoped the House would reconsider, and then at once refuse to consider the petition, or reject it. FRANKLIN PIERCE hoped the motion to reconsider would be withdrawn, and that Mr. Beardsley would so far modify his motion "as to meet the approbation of all who are most sensitive upon this agitating question;" "and he rose to add his request to the suggestion made by his friend from Virginia." [Mr. Mason.] He was anxious for a direct vote upon the question; he could not bear that any imposition should rest upon the North in consequence of the misguided and fanatical zeal of a few—comparatively few," &c.

The motion to reconsider was laid upon the table—yeas 119, nays 72.

Mr. Beardsley, persisting in his motion to lay the petition on the table, so as to get rid of debate and excitement, the question was taken, and decided in the negative—yeas 95, nays 121. Those who voted yeas were the conservative men of the South, and their Northern allies; those who voted nays were the extreme men of the South, who wished to force an undisguised denial of the right of petition, and the true friends of the right of petition, who were intent upon putting an end to the policy by which that right had been practically nullified, while technically recognised. As might have been expected, John Quincy Adams voted yeas, and FRANKLIN PIERCE, yeas.

The motion to lay upon the table having failed, Mr. Hammond moved that said petition be, and the same is hereby, rejected. The debate then proceeded with great animation, and during its progress, the fact was brought to the notice of the House that a similar petition, presented that very day by Mr. Briggs of Massachusetts, had through inadvertence been referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia. Mr. Patton moved to reconsider this vote; and then the whole subject went over till the following Monday, the House adjourning till that day.

Monday, December 21st, it was again taken up, and after debate, the majority being unable to agree upon any more summary mode of proceeding, a motion to lay upon the table the petition, and all motions in relation to it, prevailed—yeas 140, nays 76—the South generally and its Northern allies, including FRANKLIN PIERCE, voting yeas, John Quincy Adams and his friends, with a few Southerners hostile to any kind of indifference, voting nays.

Mr. Owens had previously sent to the Chair the following resolutions:

"That, in the opinion of this House, the question of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia ought not to be entertained by Congress."

"That in case any petition praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia be hereafter presented, it is the deliberate opinion of this House that the same ought to be laid upon the table without reading."

He now moved that the rules be suspended, to enable him to offer these resolutions. The motion was lost—yeas 100, nays 116—FRANKLIN PIERCE voting with the Slaveholders yeas, John Quincy Adams and his friends, nays.

Mr. Patton of Virginia, called up his motion to reconsider the motion by which a petition for the abolition of slavery in the District had been referred; and thereupon a fierce debate arose on the general question of slavery, (occupying three days,) in the course of which the Northern view of the subject was presented at length and with great ability by Wm. Slade.

The question of reconsideration was decided on the 23d in the affirmative, yeas 148, nays 61—the South and its Northern allies, with FRANKLIN PIERCE, voting yeas, and JOHN QUINCY ADAMS and his friends, nays.

The petition and motion to commit were then summarily laid upon the table, yeas 144, nays 67—FRANKLIN PIERCE voting as before, nays, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS yeas.

February 15, 1836, Mr. Pierce obtained leave to make a personal explanation. He read from an Abolition paper an article making severe strictures upon his speech of a former day, in which he had said that not one in five hundred of his constituents was in favor of the abolition of slavery in the District. He denounced the paper as "insignificant and odious," denounced the anti-slavery movement, and undertook to discredit all the petitions on the subject of slavery, whether from his own State or others.

February 8, 1836, the resolution of Mr. Pinckney was adopted, for raising a select committee, to which were referred all papers relating to the subject of slavery, and which was instructed to report that Congress has no constitutional power to interfere in any way with the institution of slavery in the States, and ought not to interfere in any way with slavery in the District of Columbia. The resolution was divided, and FRANKLIN PIERCE voted in the affirmative on every part of the instructions.

February 23, 1836, Mr. Adams presented a petition for the abolition of slavery in the District, and moved its reference to the select committee on the subject. Mr. Shepherd objected to its reception; Mr. Davis moved to lay that preliminary question on the table; and his motion prevailed, yeas 120, nays 86—FRANKLIN PIERCE voting yeas, with the South, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS and his friends, nays. The effect of the motion was to lay the question of reception on the table, thereby virtually refusing to entertain the petition.

May 18, 1836, Mr. Pinckney, from the select committee on the subject, made a report concerning the disposition of papers relating to the question of slavery, concluding with the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That Congress possesses no constitutional authority to interfere in any way with the institution of slavery in any of the States of this Confederacy."

"Resolved, That Congress ought not to interfere in any way with slavery in the District of Columbia."

"And whereas it is extremely important and desirable that the agitation of this subject should be finally arrested, for the purpose of restoring tranquillity to the public mind, your committee respectfully recommend the adoption of the following additional resolution, viz:

"Resolved, That all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, relating in any way, or to any extent, whatsoever, to the subject of slavery or the abolition of slavery, shall, without being either printed or referred, be laid upon the table, and that no further action shall be had thereon."

Various motions were made, and points of order raised, and the subject went over to the next day, when a hot discussion took place, a few extreme men from the South objecting to the resolutions, because they did not assert explicitly the absence of constitutional power in Congress to abolish slavery in the District. The morning hour expired before any question was taken; and the subject did not again

come up till the 25th, when, after a long speech from a Southern member, the gag was applied in the shape of the previous question. Mr. Adams struggling in vain to be heard, and the main question was ordered to be put, yeas 109, nays 89—FRANKLIN PIERCE voting with the South. Points of order were raised by the friends of free discussion, but they were overruled by the Chair, and, on an appeal, his decision was sustained by the usual vote—FRANKLIN PIERCE voting in the affirmative.

The first resolution was generally agreed to; the second, by a vote of 132 to 45; the third, by a vote of 117 to 68—FRANKLIN PIERCE in both cases voting yeas, with the South and its allies, and Mr. Adams and his friends, nays. A few extreme Southern men refused to vote for the reason assigned above.

This was the first gag law on the subject of petitions adopted in Congress; Mr. Pierce was a member of the select committee that prepared and reported it; and he gave his influence and votes for it in all its stages, until it was adopted by the House; and in a debate in the Senate, December, 1837, he publicly avowed that he had concurred fully in the sentiments of Mr. Pinckney's report, and further examination had confirmed him in his opinion. The report contained a long and elaborate argument against the abolition of slavery in the District, (on the grounds that it would be a violation of good faith, would endanger the interests of Maryland and Virginia, would be a blow aimed at the institution of slavery in the South,) and also an argument against emancipation, even by the States, as fraught with the most mischievous consequences. In all this, Mr. Pierce declared his entire concurrence.

December 26, 1836, Mr. Adams presented a petition from citizens of Pennsylvania for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia. In reply to a question by Mr. Pickens, the Speaker said that the rule adopted at the last session for the disposition of all such petitions, expired with the session. A motion was immediately made to lay it upon the table, and it prevailed, yeas 116, nays 36—FRANKLIN PIERCE among the yeas, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS among the nays.

January 9, 1837, Mr. Adams presented a similar petition; Mr. Glascock of Georgia objected to its reception; Mr. Parks moved to lay the question of reception on the table, and this motion prevailed—yeas 130, nays 69. We do not find the names recorded, but it is fair to presume that Mr. Pierce voted in the affirmative, from the fact that he had voted affirmatively on an identical motion made by Mr. Davis on the preliminary question in relation to the reception of a petition presented by Mr. Adams, February 3, 1836.

The Speaker said that the effect of this motion was to arrest the action of the House on the petition, and not to lay it upon the table. In other words, the House refused to receive it.

The same day, Mr. Adams presented another Anti-Slavery petition, and the question was put directly on its reception. The Northern allies of the Slave Power were not prepared to deny in this gross manner the right of petition, though they had been constantly violating it in fact, and they voted with Mr. Adams and his friends to receive it—the name of FRANKLIN PIERCE being recorded for the first time on the same side with Mr. Adams's.

The petition having been received, it was laid upon the table without debate or consideration—yeas 156, nays 50—FRANKLIN PIERCE voting with the yeas, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS with the nays.

January 16, 1837, several petitions for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District were presented; the question of reception was raised in every case, and laid upon the table—the Speaker deciding that the effect of the proceeding was to suspend all action, and leave the petition exactly where it was. We have no record of the yeas and nays in these cases; but Mr. Pierce doubtless voted as he had previously done.

January 18, 1837, the House, under the screw of the previous question, adopted, on motion of Mr. Haves of Kentucky, the gag rule of the last session, reported by the select committee of which Mr. Pierce was a member, and in the report of which he entirely concurred. It was adopted by a similar vote to that given for it at the last session.

February 6, 1837, Mr. Adams rose, and said he held in his hand a paper, on which, before it was presented, he desired to have the decision of the Speaker. It was a petition from twenty-two persons declaring themselves to be slaves. He wished to know whether the Speaker considered such a petition as coming within the rules of the House.

The reader of the debates in Congress, when Mr. Adams was struggling against fearful odds for the maintenance of the right of petition, will recollect what then took place. The House was shaken as with a tempest. Although Mr. Adams had not presented the petition, retaining it in his possession, declining even to send it to the Speaker's chair till he had obtained the decision of the Speaker as to whether, if presented, it would come within the rule, the Slaveholding members, blinded by their indignation, gave way to excesses of passion, and introduced one resolution after another, with a view to inflict punishment on the venerable man for an act he had not committed. Several days were spent in this insensate attempt to crush the defender of the right of petition, and it was with extreme difficulty he obtained the floor to correct the gross misrepresentations of his adversaries and vindicate his conduct.

At last, they agreed to urge the following resolution, submitted by Mr. Patton of Virginia:

"Resolved, That any member who shall hereafter present to the House any petition from the slaves of this Union, ought to be considered as regardless of the feelings of the House, the rights of the Southern States, and unfriendly to the Union."

"That the Hon. John Quincy Adams having solemnly disclaimed all design of doing anything disrespectful to the House, in the inquiry he made of the Speaker as to the petition purporting to be from slaves, and having avowed his intention not hereafter to present the petition to the House, being of opinion that it ought not to be presented; therefore all further proceedings in regard to his conduct do cease."

It was moved to lay the whole subject on the table, but Mr. Adams and his friends keenly felt that, after all the vindictive assaults upon him, without opportunity having been allowed him for defence, this would be a disposition of the subject highly unjust. They voted against the motion, as did the Southern members, who were anxious to have an expression of opinion on the transaction, the motion failed—but Mr. Pierce did not vote at all. He would not vote to give Mr. Adams a chance to be heard; he would not vote against any of his Southern friends.

February 9, the subject being still under discussion, the motion to get rid of the subject

*Gales & Seaton's Register, Vol. xii, Part 4, p. 4,031, 4,054.

†Congressional Globe, Vol. vi, p. 37.

‡Appendix to Gales & Seaton's Register, Vol. xii, Part 4, p. 104.

*Gales & Seaton's Register, Vol. xiii, Part 1, p. 1,156.

†Gales & Seaton's Register, Vol. xii, Part 1, p. 1,316.

‡Gales & Seaton's Register, Vol. xii, Part 3, p. 2,010.

*Gales & Seaton's Register, Vol. xii, Part 3, p. 3,158.

by laying it on the table, was again made, and with a similar result—Mr. PIERCE still declining to vote.

The question was then taken on the first of Mr. Patton's resolutions, and decided in the negative—yeas 92, nays 105—Mr. PIERCE not voting. The second resolution was also lost—yeas 21, nays 137—Mr. PIERCE still not voting.

Several Southern members voted against the first resolution of Mr. Patton, or refused to vote for it, inasmuch as the petition referred to was for the expulsion of Mr. Adams, not for the abolition of Slavery, and they were also unwilling to define in advance the kind of punishment a member deserved who should present an Anti-Slavery petition from slaves. Mr. PIERCE, we presume, agreed with these; for on the 11th, we find him moving to reconsider the vote by which that resolution had been rejected—the purpose being to modify it. It was reconsidered, yeas 145, nays 48, and then modified, so as to read—

"Resolved, That slaves do not possess the right of petition secured to the People of the United States by the Constitution."

After a great deal more discussion and denunciation, in the course of which Mr. Adams was threatened by Waddy Thompson with an indictment by the Grand Jury of the District of Columbia, his adversaries, failing in their attempt to censure him, settled down upon the following resolutions:

"An inquiry having been made by an honorable member from Massachusetts, whether a paper which he held in his hand purporting to be a petition from certain slaves, and declaring themselves slaves, came within the order of the House of the 15th of January, and the said paper not having been received by the Speaker, he stated that in a case so extraordinary and novel he would take the advice and consent of the House."

"Resolved, That slaves do not possess the right of petition secured to the People of the United States by the Constitution."

The first resolution was passed—yeas 160, nays 38; the second also—yeas 162, nays 18—FRANKLIN PIERCE in both instances voting yeas, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, nays.

We have completed the record of Mr. PIERCE in the House. It demonstrates that during the time he held a seat in the House of Representatives, he was an earnest, thorough, consistent opponent of Anti-Slavery agitation and Anti-Slavery discussion; that he was constantly arrayed against Mr. Adams, the illustrious champion of the right of petition; that, while recognising the technical right of petition, he uniformly voted virtually to abrogate it; that when the Slaveholders attempted to crush Mr. Adams, and with him the hope of free discussion in the House, he would not vote so as to secure that venerable man a fair hearing; in a word, that he was the unwavering ally and supporter of the Slaveholding Interest.

In the year 1837, Mr. Pierce became a member of the United States Senate. Following him thither, we shall find that he continued to pursue the same line of policy in relation to the Slavery Question. He took his stand by the side of Mr. Calhoun, and stood by him in his efforts to suppress Anti-Slavery agitation and discussion.

December 18, 1837, Mr. Wall presented a petition from Anti-Slavery ladies in New Jersey, praying for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, and moved to lay it on the table. Mr. Hubbard moved to lay that motion on the table. Mr. Clay was in favor of a reference, and a report against the prayer of the petition, with a view to quelling excitement. Mr. Calhoun wished by summary measures to meet the question at once. As the action of Mr. PIERCE in this case has been the subject of misapprehension on our friends of the *Evening Post*, we shall fully explain it. His whole course in the House had proved him an unrelenting opponent of Anti-Slavery discussions and petitions; and he had uniformly sustained all gag-resolutions on the subject. But while violating the right of petition in fact, he had been polite enough to respect it in form. This course he continued in the Senate.

On this occasion he was in favor of receiving the petition, and then of getting rid of it in any way best calculated to defeat its object and prevent agitation. He did not wish to give the Abolitionists a chance "to make up a false issue on the right of petition." In another place he said—"All we demand is, that since we are to be the first to feel the effects of Abolition ascendancy at home, should it ever be acquired, (which, by the way, I by no means anticipate,) we may meet the question unimpaired, and not be driven by any course here upon a collateral issue, such as the right of petition or any other." This is a key to the policy of Mr. PIERCE. Mr. Rives was in favor of rejecting the petition at once—Mr. Hubbard, of laying the question of reception on the table. Mr. PIERCE, of laying the petition on the table. The avowed object of each was to stamp the petitions with disapprobation, to prevent all debate and consideration, to get rid of them as summarily as possible, every one meanwhile declaring his respect for the right of petition.

"When petitions of this character should be received," he said, "he would be prepared to act upon them without delay, to reject the prayer of the petitions, to lay them upon the table, or give them any other direction that might be thought best calculated to silence the agitators, and tranquillize the public mind. As a member of the Select Committee of the other House, of which Mr. Pinckney of South Carolina was chairman, he had fully concurred in the sentiments of the report presented by that gentleman at the first session of the twenty-fourth Congress; and further examination and reflection had only served to confirm him in the opinion he held at that time entertained; but mad and fanatical as he regarded the schemes of the Abolitionists, and deeply as he deplored the consequences of their course upon all sections of the Union, he could give no vote that might be construed into a denial of the right of petition, and thus enable them to change their position, and make up a false issue before the country."

He had voted once in the House to lay upon the table the motion to receive an Anti-Slavery petition; but so severely had he been handled for this, that he had become more scrupulous as to forms, and now aimed to reach the same object by laying petitions on the table without debate, printing, or consideration.

And this is the man whom the *New York Evening Post* represents as having stood with John Quincy Adams by the right of petition! December 27, 1837, Mr. Calhoun brought forward his celebrated resolutions on the subject of Slavery in the District, Territories, and States, designed avowedly to suppress the discussion of all questions of Slavery.

Several amendments were moved to the first four of these resolutions, intended to modify their phrasology so as to remove any implication against free discussion, but they were firmly resisted by Mr. Calhoun and his friends, and in every case defeated—FRANKLIN PIERCE uniformly voting with him. Mr. Morris, of Ohio, for example, moved to strike out from the second resolution the words, "moral and religious," with a view of exempting from denunciation the moral and religious discussion of Slavery; and this seemed so reasonable, that even Mr. Buchanan recorded his name in favor of it; but it was lost—FRANKLIN PIERCE voting nays with Mr. Calhoun.

Mr. Morris moved, also, an amendment to the third resolution, declaring the freedom of speech and of the press, on all subjects, indisputable, and under the supervision only of the States in which such freedom was exercised; but this was rejected, we believe, by the same vote.

The first four resolutions, with some slight modification, were then adopted—FRANKLIN PIERCE recording his vote in favor of every one of them.

When the fifth resolution came up, asserting substantially that efforts by the People of the States or the States themselves to procure the institutions of the Slaveholding States, though all the States are made responsible by the Constitution and Congress for Slavery in the District and Territories, Mr. PIERCE took occasion to define his position. This resolution, he said, was the ground on which this contest was to be determined; "with, perhaps, some modification, would present the true issue here and to the country—an issue which would raise, not a mere question of expediency, but one of a much higher character, in which the public faith is directly involved." He then proceeded to sustain the resolution in its length and breadth, and to vindicate the whole series as offered by Mr. Calhoun against the assaults made upon them.

But, while Mr. Pierce was anxious to put through all these resolutions, Mr. Clay and other Slaveholding Senators thought the fifth and sixth too sweeping and unguarded; and he moved a substitute, directed only against interference by the citizens of one State with the institutions of another, containing no declaration that attempts to bring about the abolition of slavery here "were a direct and dangerous attack upon the institutions of all the Slaveholding States;" but recognising, in express terms, the duty of Congress to receive and respectfully treat all petitions, in decorous language, against slavery in the District. This substitute was adopted, with some slight modification—19 to 18—Mr. BUCHANAN and Mr. CLAY voting yeas, Mr. CALHOUN and Mr. PIERCE, nays.

Subsequently, the substitute was divided, and its various parts amended and adopted successively—Mr. CALHOUN and Mr. PIERCE generally voting together.

On motion of Mr. Preston of South Carolina, the sixth resolution of Mr. Calhoun was laid upon the table, on the ground that this branch of the subject would be more appropriately discussed in connection with the resolutions introduced by him for the annexation of Texas to the Union. The vote stood 35 to 9—this time Mr. PIERCE voting with the great majority against Mr. Calhoun.

January 3, 1838, two petitions were presented, one against the annexation of Texas and the admission of any new State tolerating slavery; the other for the abolition of the interstate slave trade. The motion to receive was laid upon the table—Mr. PIERCE voting yeas, in accordance with his policy, which was to receive all such petitions, and lay them on the table instantly.

